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Captured Salvadoran Rebel Papers List Training Classes Overseas

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SAN SALVADOR, May 20 — Documents captured from a Salvadoran rebel leader recently indicate that the leftist guerrilla officials are attending courses in the Soviet Union. Vietnam and Bulgaria.

and Bulgaria.

The papers also indicate that the Salvadoran rebels consider Nicaragua their closest ally, one to be defended if it is invaded by the United States.

The documents give an unusually close look at the inner workings of the Salvadoran rebel high command and of relations with Nicaragua's Sandinista Government. They also indicate that, contrary to assertions by the Reagan Administration, the Sandinistas appeared ready to cut off aid to the Salvadoran rebels at the end of 1983 and may have done so, at least temporarily.

Senior Salvadoran military officers and officials at the American Embassy here have said they believe the documents, which were shown to news organizations by a Salvadoran military official, are authentic. The papers were captured last month from a senior rebel commander, Nidia Díaz, they said.

Papers Appear Authentic

Several small details appear to support the authenticity of the documents. Miss Díaz told reporters in a brief news conference last month that she had been captured with "secret guerrilla material." The documents are grimy, folded and worn as would be expected of papers carried in the field. Names, dates and events seemed to fit actual events and people.

"Several officials of the United States Embassy have seen these documents," an embassy spokesman said. "We have every reason to believe in their authenticity."

But a senior rebel political official raised questions about the documents.

"They can put anything they want into supposedly captured documents," Jorge Villacorta, a member of the rebel Democratic Revolutionary Front, said in a telephone interview. He refused to comment on specific documents. No officials of Miss Díaz's rebel group could be reached.

Rebel Was Badly Wounded

Miss Díaz was badly wounded before being captured by Salvadoran troops at the end of April. She is now recovering in police custody. Miss Díaz is the most senior rebel commander to be captured by the Salvadoran Army. She is a top official in the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party, a Marxist group that is one of the five factions in the rebel military Farabundo Martí Revolutionary Front. The papers appear to represent virtually the entire archive of the Revolutionary Workers Party.

The documents contain analyses of international support for the rebels. They speak of seeking to influence the Democratic Party in the United States and the need to encourage Americans to back the rebels.

Guerrilla plans are outlined for peace talks with the Salvadoran Government. One diary entry calls President José Napoleon Duarte the rebels "principal and most dangerous enemy." Another entry says the rebels risk being seen as "intransigents."

"Duarte wants to put us in an imperialist bourgeois project," the diary

A letter appears to show Guillermo Manuel Ungo, the rebels' chief political spokesman, complaining to rebel military commanders that they are failing to consult fully with him.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Ungo refused to comment on the letter. He said he could not accurately judge a document that he had not read.

A diary confiscated with the papers contains detailed notes of discussions at the La Palma peace talks between the Salvadoran Government and the insurgents, which Miss Díaz attended. One political pamphlet appears to be perforated by a fresh bullet hole. Another diary contains self-criticism for "political infantilism" and "paternalism"; a love poem, and a letter from a relative.

Key Entries in a Diary

What seems to be Miss Diaz's personal diary for 1985 lists rebel officials to be trained abroad. The diary lists names under two headings: "Courses 1984" and "Courses 1985." Thirteen rebel officials are listed as due to attend courses in 1985 in "VN," "BULG" and "URRS." The letters stand for Vietnam, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R., according to Salvadoran and American officials. Miss Diaz is on the list to attend a course in Vietnam.

The listing for 1984 has 20 names of

The listing for 1984 has 20 names of people to be trained in the same countries and in East Germany. Some of the listings are backed up by notes later in the diary. One entry says: "To Bulgaria: Ernesto Maldonado. To the USSR: Irma, Marlena." Other entries refer to "technical" courses, and the study of explosives.

Another set of documents chronicle tense relations between the rebel high command and Nicaragua's Sandinista leaders after the United States invaded Grenada in October 1983. They show a much higher level of dependence on Nicaragua than the rebels have publicly admitted. But the documents also indicate that the Sandinistas may well have cut off aid to the rebels in 1983.

Rebel officials did briefly leave Nicaragua in November 1983. The documents indicate that their departure came after a heated debate with the Sandinistas.

A short, handwritten note on Nov. 9, 1983, is addressed to "R. Roca" from "Simon." Roberto Roca is the head of the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party. A Salvadoran military intelligence officer said "Simon" is the code-name for Shafik Handal, the head of the Salvadoran Communist Party.

The note says the Sandinistas are about to expel the rebels from Managua and will "definitely cut off supplies."

"I believe we must send a message to Fidel and seek a definition to know who

to rely on," it adds. Salvadoran officials said they believe the note referred to Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader.

What seems to be a handwritten note by a rebel official on Nov. 7, 1983, refers to a meeting between "López" of the Sandinista Front's Directorate of International Relations and rebel representatives. Julio López is the head of the Sandinista Directorate of International Relations. The document says the Sandinistas are about to cut off aid because they fear an attack from the United States.

In what seems to be a last-ditch appeal to the Sandinistas, the document states that the rebels "consider that the

Salvadoran peoples war has in its actual level of development a strategic importance for the Nicaraguan revolution and for the region. Nicaragua in the vanguard constitutes the advanced and true revolution."

The document says the Nicaraguans have asked for a list of rebels to be based near the border for military training. If the United States invades, the Salvadoran rebels are to fight in the Sandinista Army, the document says.

"All logistical support will be divided here to confront the aggression," the document adds. The Nicaraguans can no longer "be protecting supplies" to the rebels, it says, adding that most

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rebel officials living in Managua will have to leave and those that stay will be under the control of a Sandinista official.

A Sandinista military intelligence officer will be detached to "facilitate communications," apparently between rebels inside and outside Nicaragua,

the papers say.
The guerrillas should stress the rebels' desire for unity with the Sandinistas, the document adds, calling for "the most intimate coordination in a concrete manner on all political, military, propaganda and diplomatic fronts."

Request for Aid

A document from the five top rebel commanders to the Sandinista National Directorate on Nov. 10, 1983, calls on them to provide the rebels

"new and audacious forms of aid," to allow the rebels to help repel an invasion.

"We thank you for all the aid you offered and we hope it continues because it is indispensable to defeat whatever form of invasion on Central American soil," the document says. Another document dated Nov. 2, 1983, calls for meetings with the Sandinistas and the Cubans.

A separate set of documents analyze international support for the rebels in Europe, Latin America and the United States. One document dated October 1984 calls for increased rebel attacks before the American Presidential elec-tions. "If the Democrats win, it would fortify the tendency to negotiate," but would not necessarily change American strategy in Central America, the document says.